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Miſcellaneous Reflexions,

ON

Miſcellaneous Thoughts, &c.

IN A

LETTER

TO THE

Honorable AUTHOR.

Humbly Addreſs'd by *P. P.*

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TO THE

Honorable ----------.

SIR;

ON conſidering my Duty and my Intereſt, after your laudable Example, I have been induced to apply that to political Writings which you have applied to political Tranſactions, and in this ſcribling Age and on your delicate Piece, to apprize the People, by what Hands it was produced, what Tendency it has to public Affairs, and what might be the View and Character of the Writer: So far at leaſt as appears on the Face of it, or might be picked up in that lawful Office of Intelligence, the C - - - -. As to the negative Character which you give yourſelf, *viz.* that you doe not picque yourſelf upon the Reputation of a good Writer; I think I muſt e'en take you at your Word; becauſe to be ſure you muſt needs know beſt what you

picque yourſelf upon; and in your Idea of Patriotiſm by all Means inſert or leave out whatever Qualities and Properties you think convenient, and accordingly we ſhall look on you in what Rank of Patriots you in your great Humility ſhall place yourſelf, and I believe you need not travel beyond the next County to find ſom who will be ready to rank with you. But as to your poſitive Character; *viz.* that you will relate Facts, and give the beſt Account you can of Things and Men, juſt as they occur, without conſidering any thing farther than whether they may be uſeful, and whether they are true, I have met with ſom perverſe People that I could not ſatisfie whether your Practice in theſe Inſtances came up to your Profeſſions; but when they ſhall have well conſiderd your Principles, and Prejudices, as you yourſelf call them, it will be impoſſible for them to withſtand ſo ſtrong Evidences.

Your Honor, then, declares yourſelf an Advocate for perſonal Reflexions on Men in Power, for you know the Knowlege of Men is an uſeful Knowlege, and hold them always reaſonable, and often neceſſary; ſaving only that you *doe not defend coarſe Language and Scurrility.* To maintain this Doctrin, " you look upon all " Miniſters and Magiſtrates to be the Servants of " the Public, and that the Public, like every " private Man in his own Family, has a Right " to examin, and in common Prudence will ex-

" amin

" amin into every Part of the Character of every " Man taken into their Service." I obſerve here, tho' you cannot be ignorant of it, that the Word Magiſtrate is uſed promiſcuouſly, as well for the ſupreme as for the inferior or ſubordinate Magiſtrate; but ſince you are ſo gracious, ſomwhere in this Pamphlet, to ſuppoſe his Majeſty to be Maſter of his Miniſtry, I will not critiziſe too ſtrongly and rigorouſly on your Expreſſion. But if that be the Caſe, that his Majeſty is the Maſter of his Miniſters, and conſequently they are his Servants, and thoſe ſame Miniſters are likewiſe Servants of the Publick, ſom Body or other will certainly ask you that untoward Queſtion; How they will be able to ſerve two Maſters. To leave that to be anſwered in the next Seſſion of Parliament; We will ſuppoſe them to be Servants of the Publick, for I would by no Means deprive your Honor of the Opportunity of ſhowing your Learning in *Cicero: Hoc poſito*, and *Cicero* being fairly introduced; we find there " all the private Vices, as well as public Faults " of *Cataline*, *Clodius*, *Antony*, *Piſo* and *Ver-* " *res*, ſet forth; and their Adulteries, Inceſt, " Avarice, Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, Proſti- " tution and Profligacy, as ſtrongly inveighed " againſt, as their Faults to the Commonwealth; " and uſed as Arguments to alarm the Senate and " the People, and to caution both againſt dele- " gating any Power or placing any Confidence in " ſuch Men, as often as any that are drawn from

" their Oppreſſions, Cruelties, Peculate, Rapa-
" cioufneſs, and other Injuſtices in the Exerciſe
" of the Power they were veſted with in their
" Magiſtracies."--O fie on it! *Adulteries*, *Inceſt*;
indeed, indeed, very pawWords! I did not think
ſuch naughty Words could have come out of
the Mouth of ----. But ſince they are out, how
are we to apply them? If you will give it the
reading, I will tell you a Piece of News out
of a modern Author, one indeed not of ſo
great Fame as your old Friend *M. Tully*, but
believe me the Oracle of News for our Days,
and believe him the very Mirror of Wit, the
London Evening Poſt: where, *February* the
13th 1741-2, we read thus. " Sir *Robert*
" *Walpole* (now Earl of *Orford*) married firſt
" *Katherine*, Daughter of *John Shorter*, Eſq;
" by whom he hath three Sons, *Robert* Lord
" *Walpole*, *Edward* and *Horatio*, now living;
" and had one Daughter (deceaſed) married to
" the Earl of *Cholmondeley:* This Lady
" *Walpole* dying *Auguſt* the 20th, 1739, was
" buried at *Houghton*, whereupon Sir *Robert*
" took to his ſecond Wife, ſoon after, *Maria*,
" Daughter of *Thomas Skerret*, Eſq; which
" Lady died of a Fever, after a Miſcarriage,
" *June* the 4th, 1738, and was alſo buried at
" *Houghton*. By the late Warrant to the
" Deputy Earl Marſhal, Mrs. *Maria* (*Skerret*)
" *Walpole*, aged about Nineteen, takes Place
" of the Wives of the younger Sons of Mar-
" queſſes, of Baroneſſes, or the Wives of
" Barons;

" Barons; of the Wives of the eldeſt Sons and " of the Daughters of Viſcounts, and of the " Wives of the younger Sons of Earls; and " of all others of an inferior Degree." Upon my Word the Author is very learned in the Science Heraldric, as well the Novel! and now for your Application. ——

Suppoſing then that " the preſent Court were " the Reverſe of what they are, and that ſom " of the worſt Men preſided there, &c. That " the Palace was divided into Factions, &c. That " the Council Board, and what is called the Ad- " miniſtration, was compoſed of ſom concealed " Jacobites, ſom avowed Republicans, ſom " treacherous Friends, ſom timid Enemies, ſom " with too little Senſe to be uſeful, others with " too much not to be hurtful, unleſs their Inten- " tions were better; together with many who " have forced themſelves into Offices contrary to " the Inclination of their Maſter, and remained " there on the ſame Terms, &c. If this Caſe did " exiſt, would it not be meritorious to exhibit " the Repreſentation of ſuch Scenes to the Pub- " lic?" Why truly, if the preſent Court, the Palace, and the Council Board, be, as you ſay, the Reverſe of that of which you have here given us a Repreſentation, then 'tis a Repreſentation of the Thing that is not. But ſince you will not be, nor would be pleaſed to be, ſo underſtood; let us ſee a little how Matters ſtand at the Council Board, as you have ranged them. Som *concealed Jacobites*, tho' by the by, if they

they are concealed Jacobites, you dont know them to be ſuch, and if you doe know them, they are not concealed; ſom *avowed Republicans*, if there be any ſuch pray ſet your Mark on them, for they have themſelves put the Knobbs on their Horns; ſom *treacherous Friends*, ſome *timid Enemies*, and ſo forth. In ſhort; you make here ſix Ranks of Privy Counſellors, and to theſe you have tagged many more, and under ſuch Denominations that I dont care to repeat; ſo that all the new Counſellors, and great Part of the old ones will fall under one or other of theſe Deſcriptions. Nay, even of thoſe few you except out of your Cenſure, what you ſay of their Indolence or of their Inattention to the Public is as great a Reproach of Perſons in their Stations, as what you ſay of their Abilities and Integrity, is a a Compliment to them. Som People, perhaps, might be ready to conſtrue ſuch an abſurd Choice of a Miniſtry to be a Reflexion on his Majeſty; but your Honor's known Attachment to his Majeſties Perſon muſt preclude all ſuch ſiniſter Conſtructions; and beſides theſe Miniſters, you know, are Servants of the Public, and the King has nothing to doe to inquire into the Character of other Peoples Servants; but whether this Language has not ſomthing of the *coarſe* or the *ſcurrilous* in it towards the Perſons of thoſe Miniſters themſelves, your Honor ſhall determin, for I wont. I will venture however to tell your Honor what I have heard whiſpered

whiſpered by ſom who have better Knowlege than I have; *viz.* if twere applied by yourſelf perſonally and as particularly as you woud have it applied by others, that ſom of it is ſuch as woud bear an Action in *Weſtminſter Hall*; and all of it ſuch as is never uſed in either Houſes of Parliament, or likely to be ſo until the Houſes, for the ſake of greater Freedom in their Debates, ſhall think fit to adjourn to *Billingſgate.*

But pray, Sir, if it were the Practice, as moſt undoubtedly it was, in the *Roman* State, and particularly of your great Hero (I mean in Oratory, not in War, for in the laſt he was a moſt arrant Coward, notwithſtanding the learned Labours of the great Dr. *Middleton* to prove the contrary) to inform theSenate, and the People, of the private as well as public Vices of the Perſons in their Magiſtracies and great Offices of State, or of thoſe who offerd themſelves as Candidates for them; how does this give you a Claim to Merit, or even juſtifie your Conduct in your Addreſs to the Parliament and People of *Great Britain?* In no ſort, Sir, until you have proved, which I believe you will not be able to do very quickly, even tho' you ſhoud call in Aid of the forementioned learned Doctor, that the Parliament and good People of *Great Britain* have the ſame Power of creating Magiſtrates, and of diſpoſing of the Offices and Places in the Government here, as the Senate and People, whilſt

whilſt the popular State continued, had at *Old Rome*. I woud obſerve here, tho' that is by the by only and between Friends, that many of your Hero's Orations were made againſt the Perſons you mention after they were out of the Offices, for their Briberies, Corruptions, Rapaciouſneſs, Peculate, and other enormous Acts of Power committed during their Offices: But this perhaps he might doe in Imitation of the People of *Egypt* towards their Kings, in trying and condemning them after they are dead; a very ſafe Way, upon my Word, both for Kings and People.

And if 'twere neceſſary to make an Apology for your Writings, or you ſtood in need of a Precedent, I dont ſee the Occaſion you had to travel for one ſo far as *Athens* or *Rome*, ſince at Home you have your *Craftſman* and your *Common Senſe*, and if you dont care for living Autorities, there are your *De Foes* and your *Tuchins*, of famous Memory; and tho' perhaps you may not think them ſo polite Authors as your *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, yet their Writings are much more to your Purpoſe. Oh ſad! to name *Demoſthenes* and *De Foe*, or *Tully* and *Tuchin*, in one Breath; 'tis enough to give one the Vapors. However, you ſoon let us into the Secret of your Journey to *Rome*, for when you are once got thither, you preſently diſcover a Triumvirate there; and nothing, to be ſure can be ſo pretty as a Triumvirate in *Rome* and a Triumvirate in *London*,

London; or as an *Octavius*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus* in *Cicero*, and a *C. B.* and *S.* or any other Names you pleaſe to inſert in *Miſcellaneous Thoughts*. Whether any ſuch Combination did ever ſubſiſt here, I perceive you will not pretend to affirm, and in Truth it matters not much, for the Show may go on as well, and perhaps better with imaginary than with real Perſons; and were it not for the great Learning and Love you have for that dear, ſweet, charming Creature, *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, I dont ſee but the three Kings of *Brentford* might have ſerved your Turn as well as the Triumvirs of *Rome*; for between the *Engliſh* and the *Roman* Gentlemen Reſemblance there's none.

The *Roman Lepidus* was at the Head of a great Army, and if he had not Skill enough to command it, he might be a Man of Parts, tho' not in that Province; but I very much queſtion whether your *Engliſh Lepidus* ever ſo much as ſaw an Army, unleſs poſſibly as a Spectator in *Hyde-Park* or on *Hounſlow-Heath*. *Antony* of *Rome* every Body knows was a Man of War and a conſummate General, equal at leaſt, in that Reſpect, to his Competitor; but what warlike Exploits your *Antony* has been ingaged in, I believe we had as good leave to your Honor to relate. But, tho' I have not been able to hit off any Reſemblance between the two *Antonys*, yet your Honor, perhaps, who is better acquainted

with the one and the other than I am, may be able to inform us of ſom, or at leaſt can draw a Picture for your's, and whether there be any Likeneſs or no it matters not, provided it be ſufficiently ugly. You ſay of him then: "That he only did enough, in ſerving the "Court, to hurt him with the People, without doing enough to ſatisfie the Court: that "by endeavouring to preſerve his Influence in "his Party, he ſowred the Court, without "obliging the People; that by theſe means, "as he had Power at Court without Favor, "ſo he had Influence in P. without Credit, "the laſt ſubmitting ſtill to be led rather from "Habit than Confidence." The laſt Part of the Imagery I deſire to be excuſed from repeating. Whether he ſatisfied the Court in his Management is a Piece of Secret Hiſtory, which I dont know, and am apt to believe your Honor dont know neither, and am ſure ought not to have told if you did know; but you are at Liberty to tell, if you can, how a Man may have Power at Court without any Favor there, and how he may have Influence in P. without Credit, and I never heard that he was in Poſſeſſion of that ſame Charm, called a *White Wand*. Of the laſt indeed you may ſeem to give ſom Account, where you tell us, "That the *P. ſubmitted ſtill to be led by* "*Habit*;" but this being the firſt Seſſions of this P. and a great many new Members in it, your Honor was too haſty in preſuming that they

they were ſo ſoon got into Leading-ſtrings, and I fancy your Friend Sir *R. W.* coud have informd you the contrary; and for any preceding P. that may have ſat Seven Years, if your Honor will ſuppoſe or charge them to have contracted Habits of being led, that there I can't help. As for any Difficulties in which this Gentleman may have intangled himſelf by his Management, and which you apprehend to be ſuch as no Body imagines he will be able to get over, I am utterly a Stranger to them; but, if what you ſay of him in the next Lines be true, *viz.* "That he found "Means to raiſe more than Six Millions for "the current Service of laſt Year, by a Mi-"nority in Par——t; and that no Miniſter "before him ever did the like;" and the laſt moſt certainly is true, for to be ſure no Miniſter or any Body elſe ever carried any Thing in Par—t by a Minority: I am one of thoſe Sombodies who can eaſily imagine he has already, or will get over theſe imaginary, or real, Difficulties; and when I reflect on the Character which your Honor gives of his Abilities and Dexterity in Management, I wonder how you coud yourſelf expect any Thing leſs; ſo that I believe, we muſt place this among your Honor's Wiſhes, rather than your Thoughts. And for the Paralell between the ancient and modern *Octavius*, I ſhall be quite at a Loſs to find it out, unleſs your Honor will give me Leave to introduce a fourth

Perſon into the Drama, and to ſuppoſe your Honor the *Cicero* of our Days. You know then that your Predeceſſor very much courted and careſsd his *Octavius*, and was thought to have contributed, if not in his Intentions, yet by his Countenance at leaſt, and Incouragement, to hisſeiſing the Government of the *Roman* State; tho' the Attempt, unhappily for the Promoter, did not ſucceed ſoon enough to protect him from a violent Death. And you, Sir, in theſe Miſcellaneous Thoughts, of your *Octavius*, ſpeak ſo favorably, give him a Character ſo much ſuperior to that of any of his ſuppoſed Partners, and conceive him to be ſo near taking Poſſeſſion of the Seat of Prime and Sole Miniſter of *Great Britain*, as to ſeem to wiſh him in it, and yourſelf might have a Hand in placing him there: But you remember *Cicero*'s End.—

Now for more known Facts, as you ſpeak, and known Tranſactions in Parliament; "Sir "*R. W.* reſigns his Imployments, and retires "from Court;" and yet ſom People ſay (how truly I will not pretend to affirm) that his Spirit ſtill haunts the old Place; but his Majeſties Chaplains, no doubt, will take Care, on proper Notice, to lay his Ghoſt, for that an Hobgoblin ſhould be ſufferd to walk about the Palace, to the great Terror of Women and Children, in a well regulated Government, 'tis intolerable. Then follows a moſt vehement Declaration (I beg Pardon,

don, I ſhoud ſay Oration) againſt the perſonal and political Enemies of the late Miniſter. You charge then; " That, in order to re-
" move him, they made uſe of the moſt un-
" juſtifiable Methods, ungentlemanlike Treat-
" ment, Attacks in an inhuman manner, Ri-
" baldry, the coarſeſt Satire, menacing the
" Crown with Rebellion, and inſtigating it,
" if he were not removed, recommending
" Aſſaſſination; and finally, to compleat the
" Meaſure of Iniquity, moving in both Houſes
" of Parliament to pronounce him a Criminal
" without alleging a Crime, and to convict
" him without Evidence." A heavy Charge indeed: and it ſhows, as I before ſurmiſed, that your Honor need not to have taken a Journey quite ſo far as *Rome* to have pickd up *Miſcellaneous Thoughts*, or proper Precedents for them; but ſom of them, I hope, are only a little Oratorically true, or ſo. There was indeed, in both Houſes of Parliament, a Motion to remove this Gentleman from the Miniſtry; but that the Removal of a Miniſter from his Office does neceſſarily imply him to be guilty of a Crime, and that he is convicted of it too, or that a Man may not be removd from a Miniſterial Office till he is convicted of a Crime, I may be almoſt confident your Honor will not be very forward to admit. If his Enemies, either within Doors or without, in their Speeches or in their Writings, carried their Reſentments ſo far as you have repre-

ſented

ſented them, which at preſent I think not very neceſſary to inquire into, for that tends only to ſhow in what Situation we then were, and not what we are now in; yet your Honor, in this your firſt antiminiſterial Eſſay, has juſtified, I ſhoud rather ſay has copied them very cloſely, in moſt if not in all Inſtances. If they have ſpoken ſom Times not reſpectfully, or not loyally enough of his Majeſty, which I can neither affirm nor deny, for I dont pretend to have read all the Two-penny Pamphlets that have been publiſhd theſe laſt ten Years; your Honor has taken Care to avoid that Rock, for you have very rarely mentiond his Majeſty throwout this long Treatiſe; and when Occaſion of ſpeaking of him occurd, and upon ſuch a Subject as this it muſt oſten do, you ſeem ſtudiouſly to have uſed the Terms, their *Prince*, their *Maſter*, the *Crown*, *Court*, *Palace*, or the like; but his Majeſties Perſon ſo ſparingly, as if he was never in all your Thoughts.

The Compariſon, likewiſe, which you hereafter make between his Majeſties preſent Miniſtry and the old one, whether you intended it or no, ſets you juſt upon the Level with the *quondam* antiminiſterial Writers; and your Subſequent Thoughts ran counter to your preſent, and one Part is a perfect Confutation of the other. If the preſent Miniſtry is not quite ſo bad as the laſt, then your Compariſon does not hold, and your Oratory is meer Clamor:

mor: if they are as bad, and you have deſcribed them in proper Colours, then you are exactly in the ſame State with your Predeceſſors: if they are equally bad, but you have not ſet them forth in ſo ſtrong a Light as they have done the other Miniſtry, no Body will ſuſpect this to have proceeded from want of good Will, but ſome perhaps might conſtrue it to be want of Skill in the Operator. Your Honor ſhall take which Part you pleaſe: but for the Perſons who are dreſsd in a Fool's Coat to be pointed at, or in a Knave's to be baited, they muſt have a very odd kind of Senſation who can feel the Difference between being brought out in Silk and in Sackcloth: and believe me, your Honor's Silk is ſom of the coarſeſt I ever ſaw. And, altho' it be true that you have not recommended Aſſaſſination, and I hope tis not true that any other Writer, even of the loweſt Form, has recommended it; yet you have, upon a Suppoſition that a Caſe ſhoud happen, which without the Spirit of Prophecy you know muſt needs happen, you have given the now Miniſtry ſuch an hearty Imprecation, as ſom People ſay amounts almoſt as much as a Wiſh that they were all at the Devil; for you wiſh their Puniſhment were ſuch, ſuch as might at leaſt deter all future Miniſters from perſuing their Steps; and according to the Notions you profeſs yourſelf to have of the Views and common Practices of all Men in Power, this had

had need be ſomthing very ſevere and very terrible.

The next Thing you take Notice of is the Secret Committee, which the Houſe of Commons appointed laſt Seſſions of Parliament to inquire into the Conduct of Ld. *O - - - d.* That they were poſſeſsd of ſuch Powers as no Set of Men were ever poſſeſsd of in this Country upon any Occaſion, as you affirm, or that they aſſumed more than was delegated to them, as you inſinuate, tho' you will not determin, is more than I will take upon me to deny, becauſe I do not know what they were. But I hope I ſhall be excuſed from believing it; for before this there was one Committee at leaſt of the ſame Kind with this, and his Lordſhip himſelf was one of them, and not the leaſt among them, and no Body can make any Doubt but that the then Houſe of Commons gave their Committee the ſtrongeſt Powers they coud, and how the preſent Houſe of Commons coud give them more, I muſt leave to your Honor to determin. So I muſt doe likewiſe, to diſcover the Inſtances in which the Gentlemen of the laſt Committee exceeded the Powers delegated to them; and as your Honor's Sagacity cannot fail of making ſuch Diſcovery, if any ſuch Exceſſes were, ſo your Attachment to their Perſons will never render you ſuſpected of Concealment. But to let this paſs: as I ſhall doe much that is ſaid upon this Topic, it being a tender one: and with

Regard

Regard to your Friend the Ld. *O - - - - d*, if you had omitted the whole, I apprehend his Lordſhip or your Honor would not have had Occaſion much to have regretted the Omiſſion; for he has no Reaſon, in my way of Thinking, to be fond of reviving the Diſcourſe any more than he has of reviving the Committee itſelf; and your Honor woud have avoided the Suſpicion at leaſt of Leaſe-making.

To what Purpoſe was it, for Inſtance, to have rubbed up his or other Peoples Memories about the *Jamaica* Contract, even tho' it were true that he was guilty of nothing more than being over-reachd in a Bargain, for that ſomthing related to the poor Soldiers and their Officers too, who were ſent on that moſt neceſſary and moſt hazardous Enterprize? Whether his Lordſhip did approve the Expedition I dont know, but his manner of managing and carrying it on, moſt evidently ſhows that he did not wiſh or mean it ſhoud have any Succeſs; but, be that as it will, he has heard of *Forage* Contracts, *Bank* Contracts, and the like, ſo often, that a meer Repetition of the Word, *Contract*, coud give him but little Pleaſure; and your Defence of him, Im ſure, coud add none. As to Bribery and Corruptions at Elections, the gutting or garbling Corporations, and the impoſing Dependants on them for their governing and returning Officers, which you dont offer to deny or extenuate, the Honorable Committee have ſo thorowly expoſed theſe Prac-

tiſes and the pernicious Tendency of them to our Conſtitution, that it does not become me to offer to inforce their Obſervations. All I ſhall ſay, is, altho' your Honor treats theſe Proceedings as trivial and inſignificant Breaches upon the Liberties of the People, and at preſent make yourſelf very merry with them; yet if the preſent Miniſtry, or any other in which you had no Part, ſhoud at any future Election ſend down their Money, which ſom People woud call the public Money, and their Myrmidons, to a certain Borough, not above a Mile off from a certain Oak, and make you or your Friends there feel the Weight of Miniſterial Influence; I fancy we ſhoud ſee a great Alteration in the Muſcles of your Honor's Countenance, and another-geſs Application of thoſe ſame All-Miniſtry-Suſpecting Principles and Prejudices, which your Honor has got ready cut and dried for ſuch-like Occaſions.

For the Compariſon which you make between the old and new Miniſtry, I dont think your Friend has Reaſon to con you Thanks, any more than he had for your Thoughts in the laſt Inſtance; for, whether you meant to vindicate the old or to impeach the new Miniſtry, or both, and ſom or other of theſe you muſt mean to doe, if you had any Meaning, you muſt previouſly lay it down, or ſuppoſe at leaſt, that the old Miniſtry was a bad one, or there's neither Truth nor Sting in the Compariſon. Whether this ſort of Oratory be agreeable to the Rules or Practice of your great

great Predeceſſor *Cicero*, I dont now remember, or am at Leaſure to examin; but I can not ſuppoſe it, for ſurely it is a moſt prepoſterous Way of defending a Clyent or oppugning an Adverſary. Thus, if *Cicero* in any of his Philippics ever charged *Antony* with ambitious Views, arbitrary Notions or Practices, and with a Deſign on the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and had urged, that they were as wicked as ever into the Breaſt of *Cataline*, and the Thought is ſo obvious and ſo agreable to the Pride of his Heart, that I may be confident he did not overlook it; woud ſuch a Speech have had any Spirit or any Energy in it, unleſs the Speaker had himſelf lookd upon *Cataline* as a moſt deſperate Villain, and had known or ſupposd that the People of *Rome* were in the ſame Sentiments? If your Harangue is intended for a defenſive one; when the Bells and the Tinſel are ſtripped off, it amounts to this and no more: The preſent Miniſtry is as bad, or not better than the late, therefore the laſt was a good one; when the Inference, if any, muſt be, that they are both bad: and I need not inform your Honour that ſom People, perverſely perhaps, are ready enough ſo to conclude; but they muſt be ſomthing more than perverſe, that from thence ſhould conclude that either the one or the other is good. Thus, for Inſtance, if ſome People ſhoud ſay of the Treaty of *Sevile*, that it was as bad an one, or not better than that at *Utrecht*, juſt as you

ſpeak of the Miniſtries, compared one with another; would your Honor allow the Inference, therefore the Treaty of *Utrecht* is a good one? And yet that muſt be the Inference from ſuch Premiſes, or you can make none; ſo that your fine Flouriſh here is no better than a Covering of Gold and Silver to an old *Iriſh* Freeze.

Well, but what are your Thoughts upon more modern Treaties? The Negotiations with the *Dutch*, tho' they have been ſtrenuouſly labor'd by the new Miniſtry, and thoſe of the firſt Rank, have not as yet, as you ſay very truly, had any better Effect on them than the like Endeavours of the old Miniſtry; their Diligence, however, and Activity deſerve Commendation, tho' the Want of Succeſs prevents any Claim of Honor. What ſay you then to the Treaty of Accomodation between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Pruſſia?* In this you doubt whether the *Engliſh* Council had any Share. None at all to be ſure; for the Lord *Hyndford* was aſleep all the Time it was in Agitation, Lord *Carteret* could not write his Name, and his Majeſties Council here impoſed upon him when they prevaild upon him to tell his Parliament in his Speech; " That the Alliance between " his Majeſty and the King of *Pruſſia* was " one of the Events that could not have been " expected, if *Great Britain* had not ſhown " a ſeaſonable Spirit and Vigor in the Defenſe

" and

" and Aſſiſtance of its ancient Allies." Ay, but ſay you; " the Queen of *Hungary* was " offerd much better Terms a Year ago under " Sir *R. W.*'s Miniſtry, and might have had " the King of *Pruſſia*'s Aſſiſtance for half " *Sileſia*; and now has bought his Neutrality " only for the whole of the Country." This is a Piece of Secret Hiſtory to which I am a Stranger, and if your Honor and Sir *R. W.* had been ſo too, it would have been quite as well for your Honors; for ſurely he muſt be a weak or a wicked Miniſter who ſhould neglect Terms ſo deſirable as theſe, and according to your Doctrin, he muſt be a Tool of a Negotiator who coud not prevail on a neighboring State to imbrace an advantagious Alliance, and I ſay he woud be ſomthing worſe who ſhoud not accept them in Behalf of his Maſter, where he was concernd in Point of Intereſt: but his late Honor, perhaps, was deſirous that ſom of his Treaties, at leaſt, might have ſome Conſiſtency, and ſo reſolvd that any Treaty of *Berlin* ſhoud be of a Piece with that of *Hanover*. And for the new Miniſtry, your Honor is a little unreaſonable in expecting to ſee as many excellent Treaties brought to Perfection in the Space of ten Months, as the late Miniſter concluded in twice ſo many Years; and perhaps ſom other People too, as well as your Honor in imagining that Meaſures Abroad or at Home ſhoud have ſo quick a Turn as their right, but perhaps too warm, Wiſhes may have

have ſuggeſted to them; for your Honor can tell them, that *Rome* was no more demoliſhd than it was built in a Day.——

But then for our Army in *Flanders*, and the great Exploits on the Continent; where you give it the Title of an Army of *Diverſion*, it muſt be allowed to be a Pun of ſom Wit, though the Soldiers abroad may perhaps think it a cold Joke; but our late Miniſter exhibited ſo many Shows of this kind in *England*, at *Hyde-Park*, on *Honſlow-Heath*, *Laxden-Heath*, &c. that our fine Folk here begun to be ſurfeited with them; and ſo our new Miniſters, I ſuppoſe that they might not want Company, changed the Scene and laid it in *Flanders*, that our good Allies the *French* might partake of the *Diverſion*. Our Neighbors the *Dutch*, they have ſo much *Phlegm*, you know, and ſo much of ſomthing elſe, I think your Honor calls it *Selfiſhneſs*, that they coud not be prevaild upon to make a Party in it, unleſs perchance it was of a Sunday or ſo; otherwiſe, for ought I know, the Actors might have made a tolerable good Hand of the Show. Your Conundrum on our Soldiers, that they might properly be call'd *Marines*, becauſe they had known no Danger but of the Sea, is not quite ſo well reliſh'd; but that might be, perhaps, becauſe little Maſters did not underſtand Latin ſo well, or had not ſo good a Taſte of it, as your Honor. When I was ſaying, t'other Day, there was a vaſt Augmentation of our Land

Land Forces this Year, and quoted your Treatiſe for my Autority, where you ſay, 'every 'Body knows it'; a rough Fellow of a Soldier had like to have ſaid it was a Lye, and have ſworn to it too; but, being properly leſſon'd, he ſaid he hoped he might call it — a *Phib* — for it was not true; not knowing whether this ſurly Mortal ſpoke truly or no; for, I confeſs, I was one of thoſe Bodies that did not know it, I conſulted my Oracles, the Acts of Parliament of the two laſt Seſſions. In the firſt, I find that the Parliament made Proviſion, for raiſing and maintaining 4620 additional Marines, and 3705 additional Land Forces, for that Years Service; and in the ſecond, for maintaining the ſame Number of Land Forces and Marines, as in the Year precedent, but not one Farthing given for raiſing any new Forces, for the Land or Marine; and I may be very confident, from the Character your Honor gives of them, that you doe not ſuſpect that any of the new Miniſters, any more than I doe that any of the old ones, have paid out of their own Pockets, for any VAST Augmentation of our Forces: So that I doubt your Honor, in this Inſtance, is guilty of a ſmall Miſtake, of one Year for another, or ſo. However, let the Augmentation have been made when it will, I am of the Mind, that the Army was much better diſpoſed of at *Ghent* and *Bruges*, than at *Laxden*, or any other Heath in *Great-Britain*. In this Situation, you know, that they only

only *offended* the Butchers and Tradeſmen at *Ghent* or *Bruges*, for to their Wives and Daughters to be ſure they were civil; and altho', as you obſerve, by their Abſence, the Publicans in *England* might miſs of getting ſom Money by them, yet then their Wives and Daughters have eſcaped getting by them, ſomthing elſe not quite ſo ſalutiferous.

Your Article of Votes of Credit, I ſhoud have wholly omitted, were it not that your Honor ſurmiſes, " that the preſent Miniſtry in this, " more than in any other, have ſhown their For- " wardneſs to truſt the Crown, and to infringe " conſtitutional Forms of granting Money." You take no Notice of any ſuch Votes, previous to thoſe relative to the Queen of *Hungary*; tho' every Body knows, that there were ſom ſuch in the Time of your great Friend, and by him firſt introduced, I believe; but you might perhaps have good Reaſon for ſinking theſe, either from the clandeſtine Manner in which they were obtaind, or the no leſs clandeſtine Purpoſes to which the Money was applied. But, whatever was the Reaſon of your Silence, as to any former Votes, you mention only the two laſt in behalf of the Queen of *Hungary*; but how does it appear, that there is any Difference between theſe two? You ſay, " that the Grant of 300,000 *l.* the " Year before, was asked in a Speech from the " Throne, and granted in the common Method " of granting Supplies. When you agree in the Subſtance,

Subſtance, to ſtick at the meer Form, if that were wanting, tho' that's not the Caſe here neither, is like ſtraining at a Knat, after you have ſwallowd a Camel. In this Expreſſion tis ſtrongly implied, that the ſecond Sum, *viz.* the 00,000 *l.* was not asked by a Speech from the Throne, and you muſt be underſtood ſo, otherwiſe there will be no Difference between the two Votes, for that which creates it, is the ſuppoſed Want of this Ceremony in one, which was obſervd in the other. The King's Speech at the opening laſt Seſſions of Parliament, is not now before me; but I ſhoud marvel much, and ſo woud all Mankind, if the Affairs of the Queen of *Hungary*, which at that Time were in a very bad Poſture, were not there mentiond; and as to the *Quantum* of Money to be given for this, or any other Service, that is determind by Eſtimates laid before the Houſe, or by ſpecial Meſſages from the Crown, intimating the particular Sum thought neceſſary. And as this ſupply was asked by Speech from the Crown, as certainly and ſpecifically as any other ever was; ſo was it granted by the Houſe, on a Meſſage from the Crown, intimating the Sum thought requiſite, and deliverd as ſuch: And, if I remember right, and you ſay almoſt as much, it paſsd both the Committee and the Houſe, without a ſingle Voice contradicting it. But, you ſay, "it was gaind by Surprize; by a

" Gentlemans fumbling in his Pocket at ten of " Clock at Night, and producing a Paper " (which Wearineſs and Noiſe hinderd moſt " People from examining, or knowing the " Contents of it) and begging no body woud " ſay one Word againſt it:" He might indeed, have avoided that ſame ugly fumbling in his Pocket, for if he had pinned the Paper on his Breaſt, it woud have been as viſible as any Star; and, inſtead of ſtaying ſo late in the Evening of the Day, if he had ſtaid to the Evening of the Seſſions, tho' there might have been almoſt as much Wearineſs, yet to be ſure not quite ſo much Noiſe; and poſſibly there need not to have been any begging at all. But theſe are Matters of meer Form indeed; and this Seſſions, perhaps, the Gentleman may learn to goe throw them with a better Grace: and the great Grievance is behind; for the Sum given in one of the Years, was only 300,000*l.* and in the other 500,000*l.*; ſo the new Miniſter has beat the old one at his own Weapon: And then for the Application of the Money, Sir *R. W.* is not to have the handling of one Farthing of it, and that muſt make it the moſt unparliamentary, the moſt anticonſtitutional Grant that ever was made, for to be ſure, there was none before ever like it.

The Fact, which you reſerve for the laſt Place, and as the grand Subject of Complaint, againſt the Management of the new Miniſtry, relates

relates to the national Debt, and the Application of the ſinking Fund; here, after having expreſsd your Zeal, for the Application of it ſolely to the Uſes originally deſignd, *viz.* the Payment of the national Debt, in which I am ready to concur with your Honor; you tell us, " that in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, the new " Miniſtry, contrary to all their former Declara- " tions, had the Aſſurance to remorgage the " ſinking Fund, for 800,000 *l.* for the Service of " the current Year; and by that Means, with a " Modeſty equal to their Prudence, and Wiſdom " equal to their Honeſty, have ſhown the World, " that they dared to ſet out with a Step, which " they had ſaid Sir *R. W.* only dared to conclude; " and made that the firſt Token of their Guilt, " which they had propheſied he meant to make " the laſt of his." That this Reflexion has nothing of the courſe Language, or of the ſcurrilous in it, tho' you have ſo vehemently declaimd againſt it in others; very few People will allow, and fewer ſtill that it ſtands free from ſomthing elſe,—to which I ſhall not give a Name; ſince 'tis founded on a Fact which is not true, *viz.* that the new Miniſters made the firſt Remorgage of the ſinking Fund. The Matter of Fact is, that in the ſecond Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, this Fund was made a Security for 600,000 *l.* and again in the fourth Seſſion, for a Sum of 500,000 *l.*, tho' upon this laſt no more than 300,000 *l.*, I think, was rai-

ſed; and both theſe Sums are Debts ſtill ſubſiſting, and muſt ſo continue in Perpetuity, unleſs redeemd by Parliament; and the 800,000 *l.* raisd laſt Seſſions, is exactly in the ſame Plight and Condition. And that you may ſee what Senſe moneyd Men and Dealers in theſe Sort of Securities have of each, I obſerve that the two Morgages made in Sir *R. W—'s* Miniſtry are at a Diſcount, and the one made under the preſent Miniſtry is at a Premium; tho' they are all attended with the ſame Intereſt of Three *per Cent*, and ſubject to the like Powers of Redemption. Now, ſince your Honor is a Perſon of ſo much Conſequence or ſo much Curioſity as to have ſeen and read Lord *Harrington's* Letters, which were laid before both Houſes of Parliament laſt Seſſion, and from the Opinion you give of them, it muſt be concluded you did; from thence every Body will preſume that you have likewiſe ſeen and read theſe ſeveral Acts of Parliament: And ſom People, who may have better Intelligence and more Curioſity than I have, may poſſibly preſume, or perhaps know, ſomthing farther.—Thus much, however, I ſee, and every one who reads this Part of your Pamphlet muſt ſee, that your View in it is to diſtreſs the Miniſtry this Winter in raiſing the Supplies for the Service of the Year coming; which I woud whiſper in your Honors Ear are recommended by a Speech from the Throne;

for

for you conclude your Reflexions on this Head, with this ſtrong Optation: "That if "the Scheme of the preſent Adminiſtration be "to defray their laviſh Expences in this Method, "I hope thoſe who project, thoſe who pro- "mote, and thoſe who execute that Scheme, "will be made Examples of National Re- "ſentment." This Wiſh is ſo warm and ſo extenſive, that if the Warmth of it alone coud doe it, tho' your Power we hope is not quite equal to your Zeal, it would blow up *Exchange Alley*, a certain new Houſe, built you know where, and for whom, nay, and even both Houſes of Parliament and the King's Majeſty himſelf, for without all their Concurrence the Scheme can't be carried into Execution. And yet, as ſtrong as this Anathema is, an Aſſaſſinating Wiſh I wont call it, yet you muſt needs know, for I cannot ſuppoſe your Honor, in your exalted Station, to be ignorant of that of which we in low Life are not ignorant, that tis impoſſible for the Miniſtry to raiſe the Supplies of this Seſſions, not even according to a ſparing and parſimonious Model, without re-morgaging or in ſome Shape or other incumbring the *Sinking Fund*, or ſom particular Branch of it. Precedents, altho' made on juſtifiable Occaſions, are ſomtimes, much too often, followd in Caſes where there's no Neceſſity; 'tis no Wonder then, when they have been once made

made on Occaſions not juſtifiable, if they are afterwards made Uſe of where the Neceſſity is both great and apparent.

Your Honour, however, does not ſeem ſenſible of any ſuch Neceſſity at preſent; but on the contrary, that the Miniſtry is forcing the Nation into an immenſe Charge on a meer Knight-errant Expedition. And yet, in theſe your *Miſcellaneous Thoughts*, you yourſelf account for many of theſe Expences, when " you grant that the *Spaniſh* War became ne- " ceſſary, and even perhaps expedient, and pro- " per to have been undertaken ſooner than we " enterd into it." This, by the by, is as much as was ever ſaid, or in Subſtance need to have been ſaid, againſt the late Miniſter or laſt Adminiſtration, on that Head, by his or their very worſt Enemies; for as to the Succeſs of a War, over and beſides that it is in the Hands of the Almighty, that may depend on Accidents and ſuch Circumſtances as the moſt wiſe and moſt wary Men cannot foreſee and provide for; and the Want of it then, and then only, is to be imputed to the Agents in it as a Crime, when groſs and notorious Inattentions to it, or ſtudied Neglects in managing it. are apparent. As to thoſe Expences which *Great Britain* has been or may be put to in Defence of the Queen of *Hungary*, you tell us, and very truly, " That the whole Nation gave into the

" the Notion of ſupporting her Title (to call this the Pride and Stiffneſs of the Queen; indeed it was not pretty from the Polite---) " with ſuch an Union of Men of all Com- " plexions and Denominations, as one ſees " among them on few other Occaſions:" To whoſe Account are theſe to be placed? On the old Miniſtry I will not lay them, any farther than their Conduct had contributed to put the Houſe of *Auſtria* into ſuch a Condition as not to be able to maintain its Rights without our Aſſiſtance; and to lay them on the new Miniſtry, is to the laſt Degree abſurd, for that they neither created nor contributed to the creating them, otherwiſe than by their Concurrence with the Senſe of the reſt of the Nation. All the Concern they had in them was, to provide Ways and Means to carry into Execution the Stipulations and Agreements in which their Predeceſſors, with the unanimous Voice of the whole Kingdom, had ingaged them.

But you ask; What have been the Fruits, in this laſt Summer, of theſe vaſt Expences? Tis certainly true, as you have obſerved, that in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, where tis our main Intereſt to wage any War with Vigor, and to exert our Strength, nothing has been done this Summer to any Purpoſe under theſe new Managers. But then 'tis not improbable but that the old Managers, by their Miſconduct, or perhaps

perhaps by Misfortune, may have put Things or left them there in such a Posture and Situation that one Year's Management coud not possibly rectifie and retrieve; or perhaps the new Ministry, from the Experience of the ill Success of som former Attempts in those Parts, may have been discouraged from all farther such chargable and dangerous Enterprizes.

But what then becomes of their favorite Motto, *Take and Hold?* Why truly, I confess I was one of those blundering Dupes that did fancy that they meant it with Regard to Places in the *West-Indies*; but since I have been informd by your Honor that it was only "a Cant Expression, importing, that they "woud all take Places as soon as they coud get "them, and Hold them as long as they coud "keep them:" I agree to the Exposition, and the Application too, in both Senses. And if the Case were so, and possibly it may, that your Honor by Cession from a Place has made Room for a Patriot to succeed you, you have laid before your Successor such a wholsom Doctrine that he cannot fail of making a proper Application, and hold his Place as long as he can, I mean consistently with his Honor and Integrity, and beyond that I may be confident he will not. —

At the Close of your Discourse, and after that Warmth is abated, with which your Zeal

Zeal for the old and againſt the new Miniſtry had tranſported you; you give us ſom of your more cool Thoughts, in which I am ready to concur. I will joyn with you, for Inſtance, in your political Prayer, for ſo I read inſtead of Creeds: *From a warlike Genius, and an enterprizing Miniſter, Good Lord deliver us.* I perfectly enter into your Notions, likewiſe, about the Balance of *Europe*; for I coud never find, in ancient Story or in modern, but that *Great Britain*, whenever ſhe offerd to hold this Balance, or even when ſhe held it with the higheſt Hand, paid a Price much too dear for the Honor of it. My Thoughts are, but in theſe perhaps I may differ from your Honor, that if a certain neighboring State continues to hold this ſame Balance for ſom Years to come, at the Price and at the Charge at which ſhe has done for ſom Years laſt paſt, that ſhe herſelf at the End may be found light in the Scale. Time was, nay and in our Memories too, that the Words, *Proteſtant Religion*, were a moſt excellent political Machine, and when properly worked woud have raiſed, and actually did raiſe, Money by the Millions; but its Movements are ſo worn and impaird that I queſtion whether it woud now, tho' it were never ſo skilfully applied, raiſe one Days Pay for a ſingle Soldier: and I ſhoud not be at all ſorry to ſee the Words, *Balance*

of Power, of as little Moment in *Great Britain*. If the Affair of Balance-holding in *Europe* muſt goe forward, even let any Potentate on the Continent take the Honor of it with its Burden; but of this Iſland, let her Buſineſs be to cheriſh Trade and Traffick, theſe are her Arts.----But if it ſhoud ſo happen, as it does much more ſeldom than is vulgarly imagind, that any one State on the Continent is grown ſo ſtrong and ſo heavy as to be a dead Weight upon all the reſt; *Great Britain* may then throw into the oppoſite Scale a good Body of *Engliſh* Sailors and *Engliſh* Oak, and ſhe may ſoon make her Allies, and her Enemies too, ſenſible of the Weight of her Aſſiſtance, and at the ſame Time run little or no Hazard of exhauſting her Wealth, or deſtroying her Liberties. And that this may be the Conduct of *Great Britain*, is the Wiſh and the Prayer of

Your Humble Servant,

P. P.

F I N I S.